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S-E-C-R-E-T

DRAFT

23 May 1951

MEMORANDUM FOR: THE DIRECTOR OF CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE  
SUBJECT: Psychological Strategy Board (PSB)

1. Attached are two sets of papers which have been prepared interdepartmentally and approved for presentation to the Psychological Strategy Board (PSB) by the principal advisers to the members of that Board.
2. It is our recommendation that you authorize the distribution of these papers to the members of the PSB and that you call the first meeting of the Board in the immediate future.
3. It is suggested that the agenda for the first meeting of the Board should be as follows:
  - a. To note the proposed functions and organization of the Staff (TAB A, 1-5),
  - b. To discuss the relationship of the Psychological Strategy Board to the National Security Council, and
  - c. To consider future business of the Board (TAB B).

ALLEN W. DULLES  
Deputy Director, Plans  
Central Intelligence Agency

NSC review(s) completed.

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FUNCTIONS AND ORGANIZATION

1. It should be noted that only the first three papers appearing as "TAB A" have been agreed to by the representatives of all the agencies concerned. The agreed papers are:
  - a. TAB A-1, The Functions of the Director and Staff
  - b. TAB A-2, Interim Procedure - Phase I
  - c. TAB A-3, Proposed Organization - Phase II
2. TAB A-4, Possible Organization - Phase III, is an indication of how some people believe the Staff might in time develop. This outline envisages no new functions as such but is based on a much broader interpretation of the agreed functions. While agreeing that "the Board shall utilize to the maximum extent the facilities and resources of the participating departments and agencies," the group disagreed on what constituted the "maximum extent." Under one view the PSB and its Staff would emphasize the function of coordination among existing agencies. Under another view the PSB and its Staff would itself systematically plan and direct the psychological strategy of the Cold War. This involves a much larger independent planning role and much more contact with the detailed operations of the agencies than could be unanimously endorsed by the representatives. The group agreed, however, that no action is immediately required with regard to this problem. After the Director has been appointed, he should consider the proposal in TAB A-4 together with such divergent views as may arise and formulate the issue for the decision of the Board.
3. TAB A-5, Concept of Organization, is likewise not endorsed by all the representatives. Like the Phase III organization chart, with which it belongs, this paper is included for information and because it sets forth the views of one of our number, General Magruder. Rather than try to reach agreement on a philosophic paper of this kind at the present time, it is suggested that it be referred to the new Director and his Staff for discussion along with divergent views on this subject at some future date.

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FUNCTIONS OF THE DIRECTOR AND STAFF

In order to give effect to the terms of the President's Directive of April 4, 1951, the responsibilities of the Director and the functions of the Staff, subject to the Board, should be:

- a. to encourage the responsible agencies to produce ideas in support of psychological operations;\*
- b. as necessary, to coordinate, expedite, and ensure the expansion of the planning and implementing of psychological policies and programs;
- c. to initiate and formulate proposals, including proposals for national psychological strategy, which would be referred as appropriate to the Board or directly to the responsible operating departments or agencies for development and execution;
- d. to make a broad evaluation of current and proposed operations in the light of national plans and to suggest additional measures, changes in emphasis, and improvements in execution;
- e. to assure that in the determination, pronouncement and implementation of political, economic and military policies, adequate attention is given to their psychological effects and to existing psychological programs;
- f. to assure that the programs of psychological operating agencies will be furthered by U. S. Government official pronouncements;
- g. to encourage, receive, and review proposals and research bearing on psychological operations from private and official sources outside the operating departments and agencies and to make these available as appropriate to such agencies;
- h. to provide secretariat services, including:
  - (1) preparation of reports as directed by the Board;
  - (2) organization of the business of the Board and expedition of decisions;
  - (3) promulgation of the decisions of the Board.
- i. to assemble such intelligence and such policy and operational information as necessary for the performance of the above functions;

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j. to examine continually the functions of the Board and Staff in order to ensure that the facilities and resources of the participating departments and agencies are utilized to the maximum extent.

\* See definition in President's directive, which excludes only overt economic warfare.

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INTERIM PROCEDURE - PHASE I

In order to move ahead with the organization of the PSB three meetings have been held with the representatives of the participating agencies:

Mr. Dulles, CIA  
General Magruder, Defense  
Admiral Stevens, JCS  
Mr. Barrett, State (or his representative)

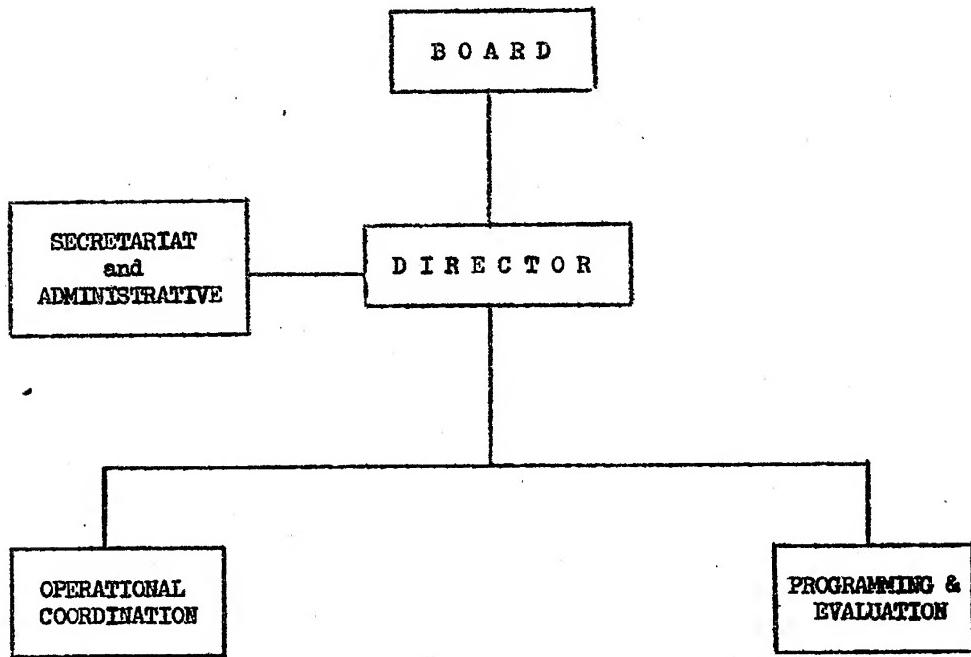
This group with the help of staff assistants in each agency has developed the set of papers of which this is a part.

This group is prepared to continue to sit and will deal with any further preparatory measures that may be necessary pending the appointment of a Director and his arrival on duty.

TAB A-2

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PROPOSED ORGANIZATION - PHASE II



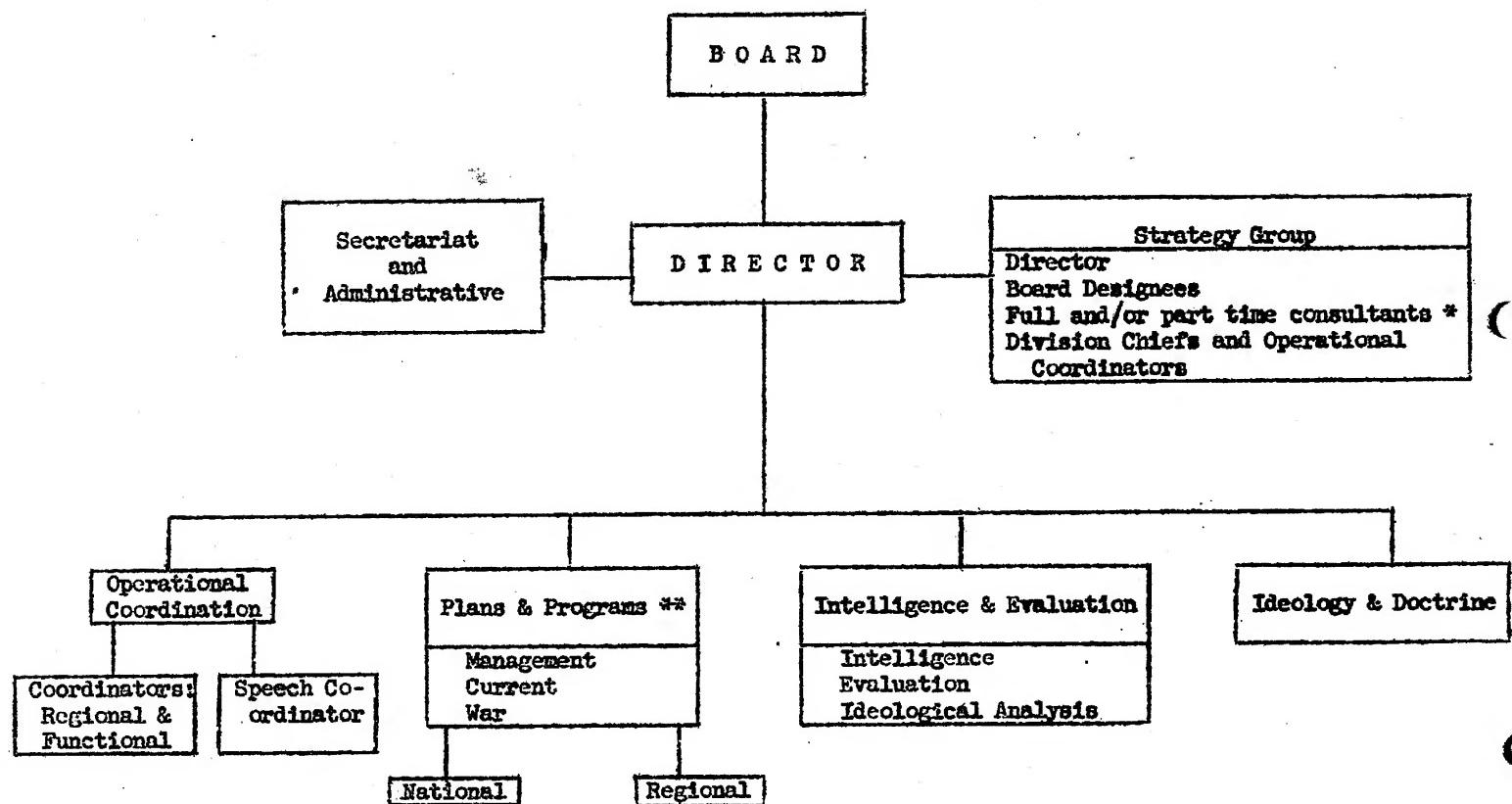
NOTE: (1) It is expected that each member of the Board will designate a deputy whose responsibilities include all matters over which the Board itself has cognizance. In the absence of the three principal Board members at any meeting, the Director will act as chairman. The Board may solicit the advice of non-governmental consultants as required.

(2) No attempt has been made to specify which unit or units would perform each of the Staff functions listed on the preceding page. In view of the small size of the proposed Staff this should be left to the Director who will allocate them in accordance with the individual qualifications of his assistants. In performing these functions, however, the Staff will utilize to the maximum extent the facilities and resources of the participating departments and agencies.

TAB A-3

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POSSIBLE ORGANIZATION - PHASE III



\* From the Government or private life.

\*\* Maximum use to be made of regional and functional specialists available in the operating departments and agencies.

TAB A-4

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TAB B

PROBLEMS FOR CONSIDERATION

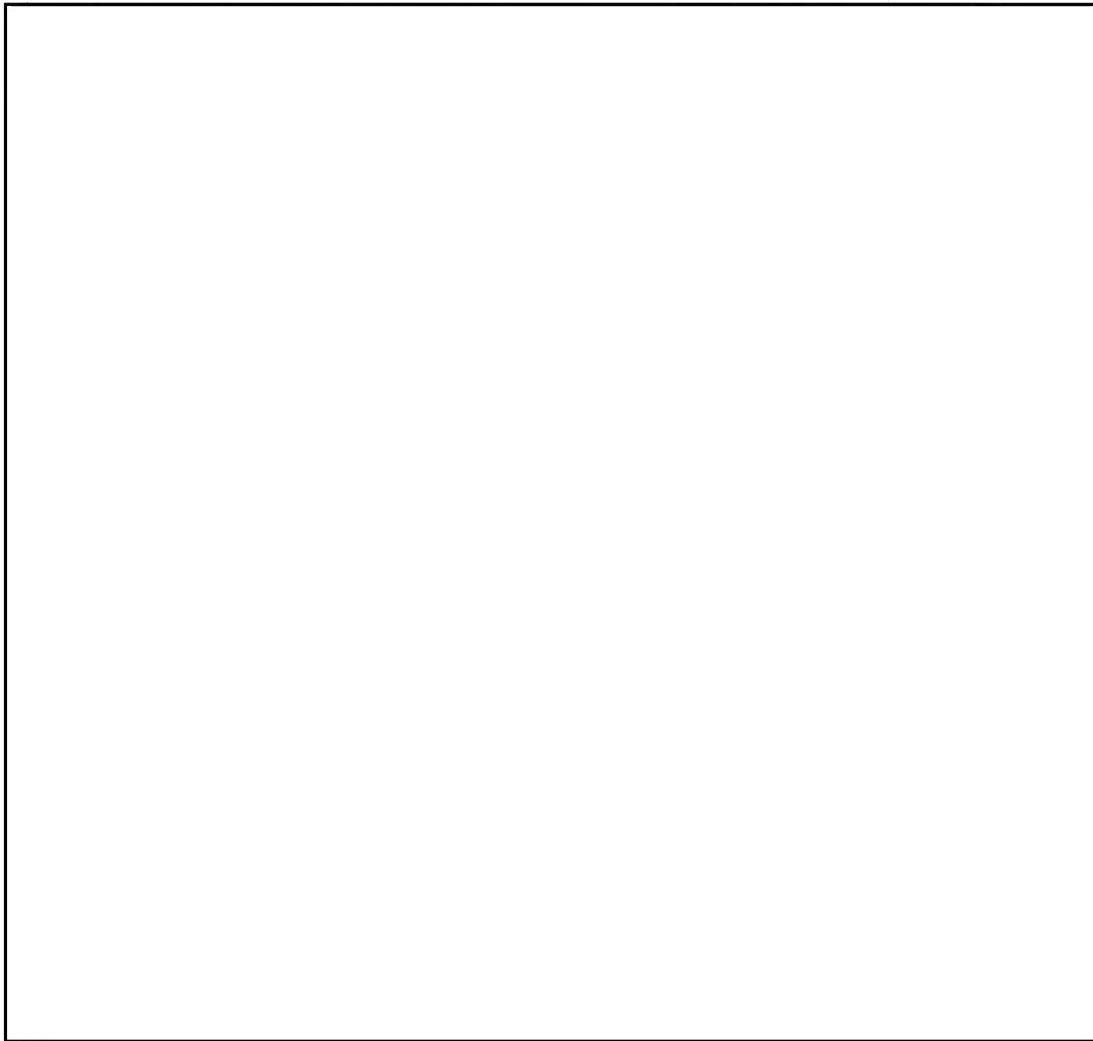
1. The attached list contains substantive problems which it is suggested the Board should consider. Although work is already going forward to some extent on all these items, the amount of progress varies considerably. It is recommended that the Board select the most important and urgent ones and direct their staffs to expedite the preparation of papers for PSB consideration.

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S E C R E T

I. Substantive Problems

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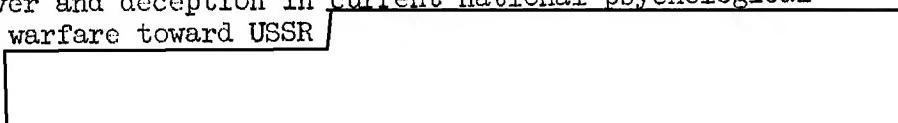


II. Long-Term Projects (see Annex to TAB B)

1. Psychological strategy in the Cold War
2. Campaign to improve the personnel situation in psychological operations
3. Survey of policy planning and research in the field of psychological operations
4. Survey of activities evaluating the effectiveness of psychological operations

III. Administrative

1. National psychological warfare and special operations personnel control and allocation
2. Measures to refine operational psychological warfare techniques
3. Cover and deception in current national psychological warfare toward USSR



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SUGGESTED INITIAL PROJECTS FOR PSB

I. Psychological Strategy in the cold war

Many individuals working in the field of psychological operations in the cold war have felt the absence of a "grand-strategy" -- a set of objectives toward the attainment of which all efforts can be directed. One cannot be so sanguine as to hope that such a strategy can be clearly outlined by any one agency or in a short period of time. Furthermore, it is a matter which clearly goes far beyond the competence of psychological operations specialists. These difficulties, however, do not excuse psychological operations planners from making what contribution they can toward the grand strategy, and the establishment of a Psychological Strategy Board gives them a better opportunity of doing so than they have had heretofore. It is believed, therefore, that one of the first tasks of the new board should be to set in motion a major effort to formulate a broad, worldwide psychological strategy for the cold war.

A suggested procedure for accomplishing this is as follows:

1. Appointment of a working group composed of the nation's very best brains in the field of psychological operations and making provision to see that they have facilities for concentrated work.

Some such membership as the following is suggested. Since it is not possible to be sure that the individuals named will be able to serve, this list represents more the type of composition recommended, rather than the actual composition.

ANNEX

S E C R E T

Mr. Alfred Loomis, Chairman  
Dr. Philip Mosley  
Admiral Stevens  
General Magruder  
General McClure  
Mr. Edward Barrett  
Mr. Paul Nitze  
Mr. Joseph Phillips

Dr. Hans Speier  
Mr. C. D. Jackson  
Mr. George Kennan  
Mr. Wallace Carroll  
Dr. Bernard Brodie  
Mr. Wisner  
General Donovan

2. A working place outside Washington should be designated for meetings. It has been noted in previous similar cases that it is much simpler to enable top quality men to work on problems of this sort personally (rather than delegating them to subordinates) if they can be insulated from the pressure of routine duties. This insulation procedure is commonly adopted by such agencies as Brookings and RAND with a considerable measure of success.
3. The group should be asked to work on such very broad problems as the following:
  - a. What psychological and other measures can be taken to restrain Soviet aggression?
  - b. What psychological and other measures can be taken to strengthen our allies and potential allies?
  - c. How may the best statement of U. S. ideology be arrived at?
  - d. How can our cold war aims be defined?
4. The temporary staff of the PSB should be asked to take the following measures in preparation for this working group:
  - a. Make necessary arrangements for meeting place, secretarial help, security, etc.

- b. Prepare briefing papers. (For example, an analysis of NSC papers and Presidential statements having a bearing on psychological operations.)
  - c. Arrange for oral briefings by governmental experts, as needed.
5. The full group should be asked to meet for a three or four day period at the beginning of the summer and for a three or four day period toward the end of the summer. In between the two full meetings sub-groups should be asked to work on specific phases of the overall problem.
6. It should be emphasized that this is not to be viewed as an effort to work out a national policy binding on all agencies. It is rather an attempt to answer two questions:
- a. From the point of view of psychological operations, what should our national policy be?
  - b. How may existing national policy be exploited more effectively through psychological operations?

II. A Long-Term Campaign to Improve the Personnel Situation in Psychological Operations

This campaign might be divided into two parts: (1) an effort to improve and coordinate training programs, and (2) an effort to induce superior personnel who already have the available qualifications to enter government service in the field of psychological operations. A considerable amount of basic work on the first part has already been accomplished, but coordination is still lacking. An approach to the second part might be as follows:

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- (1) Ascertain through interviews with leading experts outside the government what their principal objections to entering government service are.
- (2) Work out, with all agencies affected, a long-term publicity program designed to attract first-rate personnel.
- (3) Approach key members of Congress with a view to obtaining their support in this campaign.

### III. Policy Planning and Research Survey

This survey, which would be undertaken primarily by the temporary PSB with outside advice solicited as needed, should attempt to answer the following questions:

1. What policy planning for the cold war and hot war in the field of psychological operations is currently going on?
2. What basic research for psychological operations in the cold war and hot war is currently going on?
3. What additional planning and research is needed, and what agencies should undertake it?

### IV. Survey of Evaluation Activities

This survey should be undertaken along the same lines as the above.

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